

OHIO YEARLY MEETING

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NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY
OF
OHIO YEARLY MEETING

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This little book does not assume to be a complete history. All that the author claims is that he has brought together material not before accessible to the general public. As such he commends it to the kindly interest of those who, like himself, cherish the memory of Ohio Yearly Meeting.



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CHAPTER I.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF FRIENDS, AS SEEN FROM THE EAST.

Any attempt to sketch the early history of Ohio Yearly Meeting must begin at the Atlantic seaboard. There began the political organizations and the national life. There were the earliest settlements of Friends and there the members, for mutual strength and encouragement, began to draw together in "general meetings," which soon came to be called Yearly Meetings. John Burnyeat tells of a Yearly Meeting for New England, held at Newport, in 1671, "that all things might be kept sweet and clean." This seems to have been the earliest gathering of the kind in America. Next year, 1672, both John Burnyeat and George Fox were at a general meeting of Friends at West River, in Maryland, and counseled those present, in what proved to be the beginning of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Some years later, 1681, at Burlington, N. J., a "general meeting" was held, which in time took the name of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, though for more than half a century it alternated between the two cities. Here then are three cardinal dates which it is well to bear in mind. There were Friends in other parts, but they organized as Yearly Meetings at somewhat later periods.

Not until disastrous Indian wars had forced the tribes to reservations, or driven them toward the Mississippi, was there any pronounced movement of Friends to the west. Inasmuch as William Penn's original grant of land extended "five degrees" westward from the Delaware, and wars had been less continuous and devastating in Pennsylvania than in other colonies, the earliest Friendly migrations were to localities now included in the extreme western part of that State.

Historians are careful to point out that the westward movement of population was on geographical lines, and the people

carried their political, social and religious ideas with them. Thus, it is said, that certain fundamental principles in the making of state constitutions can be traced from Massachusetts and Connecticut far to the west, in the northern tier of states. Similarly South Carolina put her impress on the states in the southern tier. A strict application of this rule would have sent North Carolina and Virginia Friends into Tennessee and Kentucky. But in this and other cases, the anti-slavery feeling caused them to deflect to the north.

Historians are probably correct in their deductions, but the average American was an independent thinker, and Friends took a serious view of the matter of seeking out new homes. Hence there were many exceptions to the geographical rule. The Updegraff (Opp-den Graeff) name first appears in Germantown, Penna., in the time of Francis Daniel Pastorius, but half a century later occurs in Virginia and soon after in eastern Ohio. The Foulkes, of Gwynedd, Pa., sent a branch to the most southern Quarterly Meeting in Ohio. Jonathan Taylor, of Bucks Co., Pa., went first to Winchester, Va., thence to Ohio, and was well known after 1800 in the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood. The Janneys also were a Bucks County family and sent a strong branch to Virginia and another to Ohio.

No actual date can be given for the first crossing of the Alleghanies by members of the Society of Friends. It is known that there were members at Uniontown, Fayette County, Pa., as early as 1769. In the year 1773 Zebulon Heston and John Parrish were on a mission to Indians in the west, and on their return, had one or more meetings with the members in those parts.

The states of Virginia and North Carolina were more or less devastated during the Revolutionary war, and this circumstance may have stimulated Friends to seek homes far from the contested areas. Certain it is that an increasing number began to move to the west. Hopewell Monthly Meeting in Virginia was a distinct loser from this source and moreover was concerned for the welfare of the departing members. They reported to their Quarterly Meeting in 1776 that eighteen families had thus removed. The uneasiness continued and presently a committee was sent to investigate the conditions.

They found not only a number of members of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, but so many from Philadelphia also, that it seemed right to share the concern, since all were living beyond the pale of Society influences. At Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, held in the Ninth Month, 1780, the following communication was read:

From Warrington and Fairfax Quarterly Meeting.

We of the Committee appointed by the Quarterly Meeting to visit the Friends settled westward of the Alleghany Mountains, have attended to the service, had several Conferences with them and inspected into their situation, number and meetings from whence they came; and find there are seventeen families, members of our Society; eight women and children whose husbands have not a right, and one man whose wife and children have not; six young men; amounting in the whole to over one hundred and fifty persons that have a right of membership amongst us, many of the children grown up to the state of men and women, and some of them appear hopeful. They are not settled so near and compact together as would have been pleasant to us, yet we have a comfortable hope that divers among them are concerned to seek after an Improvement in the Truth. We therefore unanimously agree to report as our sense, that it will be best for Hopewell Monthly Meeting to observe the direction of the Yearly Meeting in receiving Certificates from all such as shall produce them, where upon inspection it does not appear that they have misconducted since their removal from the Meetings they belonged to, which nevertheless is submitted to the meeting by

JOHN HOUGH,
JOSEPH EDGAR,
WILLIAM MATTHEWS,
JOSEPH JANNEY.

It is now earnestly and affectionately recommended to the several monthly meetings belonging to this Quarter, timely to labor with such as may incline to remove their

habitations from place to place, that they have the solid sense of their Friends, agreeable to the good order established among us.

This official communication shows plainly that Hopewell Monthly Meeting was acting somewhat as a caretaker of those members who were gathering in western Pennsylvania. Also that uneasiness existed lest Friends sever their connection with home influences too easily and without due thoughtfulness.

We must not assume that these Friends were unmindful of their own spiritual interests. Just when the proposition took shape is not known, but only a few years elapsed before Hopewell was considering the propriety of establishing a regular meeting for worship and a Preparative Meeting. The following minute fixes the official date:

At Hopewell Monthly Meeting, held eleventh of Eleventh Month, 1782:—

At this meeting we received a minute from the Quarterly Meeting signifying unity in granting the request of Friends over the Alleghany Mountains.

That their Meeting for Worship is to be held on First and Fifth-days of the week and the Preparative Meeting on the second Fifth-day in each month, and to be called Westland Meeting. James Steer, Josiah Jackson, Nathaniel White, Jr., and Joseph Hackney are appointed to attend the opening of the Preparative Meeting and assist as the occasion may require, etc.

Three of the above mentioned Friends attended at the opening of the meeting and the records of Hopewell show that for a few years there was almost continual supervision and assistance by committees. It must have been a laborious service to go so far through an almost trackless wilderness, under such an appointment.

On the other side of the Monongahela River, at Redstone, in Fayette County, was another Friendly settlement which in turn became desirous of an established meeting. Hopewell Monthly Meeting, in 1785, assisted by a Committee of War-

rington and Fairfax Quarterly Meeting, gave sanction to other changes, which in course were duly authorized. Westland became a Monthly Meeting, Redstone a Preparative Meeting, and the Monthly Meeting for a time alternated between these two places. Providence Meeting was set up in a few years, and that with Redstone formed Redstone Monthly Meeting. Thomas Scattergood, of Philadelphia, mentions four Particular Meetings as early as 1786. Martha Routh, a few years later, mentions two Monthly Meetings and eight Particular Meetings. A majority of the members of these meetings came from the limits of Baltimore Yearly Meeting and the discipline of that body was used. Mention is made in one place of the use of Philadelphia discipline.

In earlier days there were no well-defined rules as to territorial limits in the setting up of meetings. Some confusion resulted. Philadelphia had reached out to the South and West, so that Warrington and Fairfax, about to become separate Quarters, belonged to that Yearly Meeting, as indicated by the Minute quoted on a previous page. Baltimore, or as it was then called, Maryland Yearly Meeting, already had established some meetings to the North and West, reaching into the state of Pennsylvania. In the year 1790, after a great deal of correspondence and committee labor, an amicable arrangement was consummated which is thus expressed in the Philadelphia minutes (Tenth Month 3, 1789), and in substance in the Minutes of all other organizations involved in the transaction:

“That the Quarterly Meetings of Warrington and Fairfax, after this Yearly Meeting, be considered as branches of the Yearly Meeting for Maryland, and the Monthly Meetings of Duck Creek, Motherkill and Deer Creek, after receiving the Extracts from the Minutes of this Yearly Meeting, through the Western Quarterly Meeting, the two former unite with the Quarterly Meeting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and that Quarter henceforth to report to this meeting agreeable to the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting of Maryland, and the latter

in like manner to unite with the Quarterly Meeting held in Baltimore Town and become a branch thereof."

About this time the name Maryland Yearly Meeting was officially changed to Baltimore. This digression has seemed necessary, in order to explain the frequent references to Baltimore Yearly Meeting.

The first sitting of Redstone in a Monthly Meeting capacity was on the twenty-sixth of Fourth Month, 1793. The first Clerk was James McGrew. Both here and at Westland, for a considerable period, the time of the meeting was much occupied with receiving Certificates of Removal for the Friends who, in increasing numbers, moved into that part of the country. Westland was the older meeting and better known. It became a prevailing custom with all who sought homes beyond the mountains to deposit their certificates at Westland while they prospected in the surrounding country. The extension to these of any degree of disciplinary care and the supervision of the frequent marriages, entailed a heavy burden on the meetings. The prevailing tone, however, was one of great hopefulness, and the outlook every way encouraging.

With a membership which increased with almost bewildering rapidity, it was natural that Westland and Redstone began to think of a Quarterly Meeting. Baltimore Yearly Meeting in 1794 had such a proposition under care, but got no further than to appoint a Committee to visit the western meetings and "feel after their situation." This Committee reported favorably in 1795, but the meeting appointed another delegation, including some women Friends, to visit the meetings and "if the subject shall appear clear to them to report to our next Yearly Meeting the times when and the place or places where it will be best to open and hold the said Quarterly Meeting, and the name by which it shall be distinguished."

For some reason this Committee did not report until 1797, when the Yearly Meeting finally agreed to the establishment of another Quarterly Meeting to be called Redstone, and to be held alternately at that place and at Westland.

The body thus constituted held its first meeting on the fifth

of Third Month, 1798. Joseph Townsend was the first Clerk. When Baltimore Yearly Meeting convened in the Ninth Month of that year, the new Quarterly Meeting was represented by Rees Cadwallader, Jonas Catlett, John Cadwallader, Jacob Griffith, Jacob Ong, William Heald and James Mendenhall. As Baltimore was in some sense the parent of Yearly Meetings west of the mountains, so Redstone became the parent of organizations which sprang up in the near west.*

CHAPTER II.

SLAVERY AND THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT.

Before proceeding with further mention of the organization of meetings it is proper to explain more fully the causes which led to the rapid growth of Friendly communities in the west.

The awakened conscience of Friends had long been struggling with the question of African slavery. The year 1787 should be remembered. Then for the first time it could honestly be said that the Society of Friends was clear of holding fellow-men in bondage. Long and patient labor was required to produce that result, but the goal had been reached. Lest any be tempted to a feeling of pride in the statement, let it be remembered that the founders of the nation did not look upon slavery as a desirable institution. George Washington and others, who perhaps had slaves, regarded the custom as one which was antagonistic to political freedom and bound to disappear with the advance of civilization. Party strife had

*The later history of Redstone Quarterly Meeting is an illustration of what happened to several Friendly organizations in the midst of a shifting population. Called into existence near the close of the eighteenth century, as explained above, it had an honored and useful existence of sixty-four years. Its membership, in turn, was depleted by removals farther west, and the meeting was laid down in 1862.

not yet embittered the north and the south, as in later years. But the very presence of human slavery in the Southern States imposed certain social standards which were unsatisfactory to Friends, and inclined them to seek homes elsewhere.

The year 1787 is to be remembered for another circumstance. Congress that year passed the "Ordinance of 1787." This provided, in general terms, that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment of crime" should be allowed in the Northwest Territory. Eventually the states of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin, were carved out of this great domain. The promise of political freedom was an alluring prospect to Friends who were in an unsatisfactory environment.

Interwoven with all other considerations was the desire for cheap homes, or, going far back in the annals of English-speaking people, a deep-seated instinct of the race which for ages made every man anxious to own a bit of land. When the early settlers in America enacted that no one could be a full, free citizen and have a voice in civil affairs, unless he was a land owner, they were simply giving effect to that same racial instinct. The migration of Friends to the west was simply a part of that great movement which in half a century from the time of which we are speaking, carried the English language from the Atlantic seaboard states all the way to the Pacific.

The present writing is an attempt to account for Ohio Yearly Meeting. Any one whose ancestor of the third or fourth generation was among the early settlers in the valley of the Ohio, may be sure that some one or all, or some combination of the reasons urged in the preceding paragraphs led to this movement westward. Because it is a unique chapter of Quaker history, we will ask the reader to follow in some detail the fortunes of one group of emigrants.

In the eastern central part of North Carolina was a Quarterly Meeting known as Contentnea. One of its branches was Coresound Monthly Meeting in Carteret County. The propriety of removing to the west had been seriously considered, and finally two of its members were deputed to go and visit the new country and report their judgment. Trent Monthly

Meeting in Jones County also sent a representative. These men traveled with duly accredited minutes. The following is evidence that they crossed the mountains safely:

At Westland Monthly Meeting of Friends, twenty-second of Sixth Month, 1799.

Our esteemed Friends, Joseph Dew and Horton Howard attended this meeting and produced certificates from a Monthly Meeting at Coresound, in Carteret County, North Carolina, expressive of Friends' unity with their viewing this part of the country and other parts adjacent, with a prospect of removing and settling within the verge of this, if way should open, and our friend, Aaron Brown, also attended and produced an extract from the minutes of a Monthly Meeting on Trent River, Jones County, N. C., expressive of their unity and concurrence with his accompanying our aforesaid Friends, whose company, exemplary deportment and cautious proceeding in so weighty a matter as they are engaged in, obtained our approbation and is satisfactory to us, and the religious labors of Joseph Dew, who is certified to be an approved minister, have been acceptable and edifying.

We have reasons for believing that the investigation of these Friends extended some way into the Northwest Territory. Their report was probably verbal and we do not know its character. What we do know is that Coresound Meeting contributed several families to the westward stream. But Aaron Brown must have given a most hopeful view of things to the Trent Monthly Meeting, for the action of that body is a striking example of a meeting migrating in a body.

Every step was duly recorded in the minutes of the meeting. Certificates of Removal addressed to Westland were granted to all the members, after which the meeting was duly closed, and all the records, etc., returned to the Quarterly Meeting with information that there was no Monthly Meeting of that name. All this took time, and it was not until the Tenth Month of 1799, that the final conclusion was reached. Winter was approaching, but that fact seems not to have deterred them.

And now began a busy period of preparation, if already it was not far advanced. Apparently they started in the First Month of 1800, going in a body. There were vehicles of various kinds, some of the wagons with muslin covers. Boys and girls over twelve walked, unless they had horses. There were many on horseback, for the horses were wanted in the new country. Cooking utensils were in the wagons, or carried on pack horses. They camped at night and depended for subsistence on the provisions brought from home and the game they could secure. Teams were often doubled to get wagons over difficult places. There were almost no roads. The National Road was not even started until 1806. We do not know by which "pass" the procession crossed the mountains, but we can readily imagine that much bodily hardship was meted out to these hardy ancestors of western Friends.

In the early summer of 1800, five months after the disappearance of a Monthly Meeting in North Carolina, things began to happen in Redstone Quarter, Penna. Witness the following minute:

At Westland Monthly Meeting, Sixth Month, 1800.

This meeting is in receipt of extracts from the minutes and proceedings of a Monthly Meeting on Trent River, in Jones County, North Carolina, telling of the exercises of Friends of that meeting, which resulted in that meeting, almost in a body, concluding to issue certificates to nearly all its members, and surrendering their privileges of holding meeting, to Contentnea Quarterly Meeting, and as many of these aforesaid Friends and their families (and several from the Monthly Meeting of Coresound, in Carteret County, N. C.) have arrived and are now as sojourners in the vicinity of this meeting, and being a subject of such magnitude and importance, this meeting appointed David Greave (and eleven others) to confer with them, give such advice and assistance as may be necessary to procure a settlement for Friends in the territory northwest of the Ohio River and report to our next meeting."

This minute tells us much; that the worst of the wilderness journey is over, that the proposed settlers are actually in the neighborhood, and that their faces are turned to the region beyond the Ohio. No stretch of the imagination is required to picture the joy of the emigrants as they camp in security in the Westland or Redstone district, or accept the hospitality of their friends.

The committee whose appointment is mentioned above, reported next month that they "had held several conferences with the Friends and gave such advice and counsel as we thought necessary, and a few of our number had accompanied them in seeking a place for settlement. . . . which is satisfactory to the meeting."

There is in existence a most interesting letter, written by Borden Stanton, a leader in this group of settlers, which confirms what has been said as to the reasons for the migration, and the serious feelings which accompanied the movement. A group of Friends at Wrightsborough, Georgia, were considering the propriety of moving to the west and to these a letter was addressed, in part as follows:

CONCORD, Ohio,

Twenty-fifth of Fifth Month, 1802.

DEAR FRIENDS:—

Having understood by William Patten and William Hogan, from your parts, that a number among you have had some thoughts and turnings of mind respecting a removal to this country; and . . . as it has been the lot of a number of us to undertake the work a little before you, I thought (to give) a true statement (for your information) of some of our strugglings and reasonings concerning the propriety of our moving. . . .

I may begin thus, and say that for several years Friends have had some distant view of moving out of that oppressive part of the land, but did not know where until the year 1799, when we had an acceptable visit from some traveling Friends from the western part of Pennsylvania. They thought proper to propose to Friends for consideration, whether it would not be agreeable to best wisdom for

us unitedly to remove northwest of the Ohio River—to a place where there were no slaves held, being a free country. This proposal made a deep impression on our minds.

Nevertheless, although we had a prospect of something of the kind, it was at first very crossing to my natural inclination, being well settled as to the outward. So I strove against the thoughts of moving for a considerable time, . . . as it seemed likely to break up our Monthly Meeting, which I had reason to believe was set up in the wisdom of Truth. Thus I was concerned many times to weigh the matter in the balance of the sanctuary; till at length I considered that there was no prospect of our number being increased by convincement, on account of the oppression that abounds in the land. . . .

Under a view of these things, I was made sensible beyond doubting, that it was in the ordering of Wisdom for us to remove; and that the Lord was opening a way for our enlargement, if found worthy. Friends generally feeling something of the same, there were three of them who went to view the country, and one worthy public Friend. They traveled on till they came to this part of the western country, where they were stopped in their minds, believing it was the place for Friends to settle. So they turned back, and informed us of the same in a solemn meeting; in which dear Joseph Dew, the public Friend, intimated that he saw the seed of God sown in abundance, which extended far northwestward. This information, in the way it was delivered to us, much tendered our spirits, and strengthened us in the belief that it was right. So we undertook the work, and found the Lord to be a present helper in every needful time. . . .

CHAPTER III.

ORGANIZATION OF MEETINGS IN OHIO.

This body of North Carolina Friends rested for some weeks and then moved on. By the Ninth Month of 1800 the woodsman's axe could be heard in many places west of the Ohio River, some miles out from Wheeling, Virginia. The settlers were in advance of the government surveyors, and no land office had yet been opened. In a short time this difficulty was removed, and legal titles could be secured. Then began a general movement into the new and fertile country.

A part of the Northwest Territory was portioned off and became Ohio Territory, and so rapid was the increase of population, that it was organized as a state in 1802.

This narrative has dwelt at some length on the movement of a body of North Carolina Friends, but let it not be thought that these were the only ones tending in that direction. Numerous families, singly or in smaller groups, were going in the same direction; whether Virginia or North Carolina contributed most to the westward current we are not prepared to state, but in addition to these, all the eastern and New England states were represented. It is estimated that eight hundred families of Friends had moved into Ohio by the year 1800.

They constituted a meeting-going population. Those people who, in the long march through the wilderness, had rested on First-days and at the accustomed hour had gathered around their camp-fires for silent worship, or listened to vocal ministry from some of their own number, were not likely to neglect their religious duties when their travels were ended. We readily adopt the tradition that at Concord a group assembled first on the trunk of a fallen tree, then were invited to the newly-erected cabin of Jonathan Taylor, then moved to the log meeting-house, which was one of the earliest struct-

ures. With variations, such narratives might be given of many neighborhoods. Houses for worship, rude though they might be, sprang up so rapidly, that they evidently were regarded as necessary to the welfare of the community. Borden Stanton, previously quoted, supplies the hopeful contemporary outlook. He wrote:—

“The first of us moved west of the Ohio in the Ninth Month, 1800, and none of us had a house at our command to meet in to worship the Almighty Being. So we met in the woods until houses were built, which was but a short time. In less than one year Friends so increased that two Preparative Meetings were settled; and in last Twelfth Month a Monthly Meeting, called Concord also was opened, which is now large. Another Preparative Meeting is requested; also another First and week-day meeting. Four are already granted in the territory and three meeting-houses are built. Way appears to be opening for another Monthly Meeting and I think a Quarterly Meeting.”

In reviewing the rapid growth of Friends in Ohio, it should be remembered that these emigrants came from localities with well-established meetings, that they were thoroughly familiar with the organization and procedure of the Society, and furthermore had amongst themselves, those whom they were accustomed to recognize as ministers, elders and overseers. What might be called the disciplinary organization started easily and naturally. The first Preparative Meetings were branches of Westland Monthly Meeting; the first Monthly Meeting was a branch of Redstone Quarterly Meeting, and all were parts of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Redstone had authority to establish branches subordinate to itself, without the tedious process of consulting its superior meeting east of the mountains.

Concord was the first duly authorized meeting for worship in Ohio, the name having been suggested by Hannah Trimble, a traveling minister, who visited the meeting in its infancy. Short Creek was second, and these two were raised to the dig-

nity of Preparative Meetings. Then there was a Concord Monthly Meeting, which was held alternately at Concord and Short Creek, the first official minute bearing date nineteenth of Twelfth Month, 1801. At Redstone Quarterly Meeting, held at Westland on the twentieth of Third Month, 1804, the Monthly Meeting was divided, Concord to be held alternately at Concord (Colerain) and Plainfield (St. Clairsville) and Short Creek to be held alternately at Short Creek (Mt. Pleasant) and Plymouth (Smithfield).

The work of Redstone Quarterly Meeting in those days must have been extremely interesting. Committees were coming and going all the time. The stream of emigrants, many Friends among them, seemed unending. The widening circle of Friendly communities increased by leaps and bounds. To the north, we hear of a Bethel Meeting (Columbiana County), the nucleus of Middletown Monthly Meeting. A body of Friends from Salem, New Jersey, about the year 1803, carried the name Salem into Ohio. By 1805, there was a Monthly Meeting of that name, to be followed before the close of the same year by New Garden. In another direction, Plymouth, in Washington County, the beginning of Pennsville Quarter, was at first a branch of Concord. Records of new meetings become almost bewildering, especially as some of them were short-lived. It is a part of the history of the times that Friends sometimes discovered that they had made poor selections for their new homes, and presently they moved on, and the hastily-constructed log meeting-houses were left to fall into decay. For this and other reasons no attempt will be made to include in this narrative notice of the establishment of all the particular meetings which formed a part of the future Ohio Yearly Meeting.

Early in the year 1804 Concord and Short Creek Monthly Meetings began an exchange of minutes, looking toward the establishment of a new Quarterly Meeting. This could only be done through Yearly Meeting action, and for some reason Redstone was cautious about forwarding their request. However, when Baltimore Yearly Meeting convened in 1805 the representatives from Redstone Quarter, Henry Mills, James Parnell, Nathan Updegraff, David Graves, Borden Stanton,

John Hatton, Benjamin Stanton, Jacob Griffith, Jonas Cat-tell, Israel James and James Raley carried forward their request, and the Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to visit Redstone and the two Monthly Meetings which had united in the request. Next year (1806) at the recommendation of this Committee the request was granted.

Meanwhile Short Creek and the other meetings directly interested, had been busy preparing a house to accommodate the new Quarterly Meeting. Short Creek paid half and the other meetings half of the cost of the "brick house, 45 by 70 feet, one-story high," so long a landmark a short distance from Mt. Pleasant village. It took the name Short Creek and included four Monthly Meetings, Short Creek, Concord, Plain-field and Plymouth. It convened for the first time on the sixth of Sixth Month, 1807, a Committee from Baltimore Yearly Meeting being in attendance. Next year (1808) the new Quarterly Meeting was represented at Baltimore by Horton Howard, Joseph Talbott and Joseph Votaw.

Other Quarterly Meetings followed in a few years: Salem was granted in 1808; also Miami in the western part of the state. About 1811 West Branch Quarter was established by separating from the rapidly-growing Miami Quarter, West Branch, White Water and Elk Monthly Meetings. As Miami and West Branch did not long remain in association with the meetings in the eastern part of Ohio, their history is of less immediate interest to this narrative.

Baltimore Yearly Meeting when it convened in 1810 was confronted with a proposition for a division of that meeting and the setting up of a new Yearly Meeting west of the mountains. The subject was referred to the meeting of next year. In 1811 it came up early in the week and a large Committee of men and women Friends was appointed to deliberate upon it. This committee later in the week, having heard, no doubt, from some of its own number, such as Horton Howard, Abraham Warrington, Elisha Schooley and others, agreed upon a report which ended with the statement that they were "united in believing the proposal a right one, but are most easy to propose that the weighty subject be continued under the consideration of Friends another year, and that the Yearly Meetings with which this corresponds may also be informed thereof."

The following extracts show that the question was now engaging the attention of a wider circle of Friends.

At Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, held Fourth Month 20th to 25th, inclusive, 1812:

The Epistle from our brethren at their late Yearly Meeting in Baltimore, states that their Quarterly Meetings west of the Alleghany Mountains and belonging to that Yearly Meeting, have united in a prospect that it will be right to establish a Yearly Meeting, to be held North West of the Ohio River; that the subject was referred to their next Yearly Meeting; and that as we of this meeting may become ultimately interested in such an arrangement (should it take place) they express an affectionate invitation that we unite with them in deliberating thereon. On solidly weighing the subject, it resulted in a conclusion to appoint a Committee to deliberate further thereon and report what measure appears to them most proper on the occasion; to which service the following Friends are named, . . .

(At a later sitting). The Committee separated to consider what measures it may be proper to adopt on the subject introduced by the Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Friends at Baltimore, report, that on conferring together they had agreed to propose the appointment of a Committee to attend that meeting and make a report to this meeting next year; to which service the following Friends were named: Isaac Bonsall, Jonathan Evans, John Cox, Eli Yarnall, Amos Harvey, Jonathan Hunn, William Allinson, John Shoemaker, Jesse Kersey and Benjamin Mason.

All interest now centred in Baltimore Yearly Meeting, which convened on the twelfth of Tenth Month, 1812. There is more than a suspicion that the western quarters were growing a little impatient and that the representatives who made the long trip over the mountains, eagerly desired it might be the last. They were as follows:

Redstone.—Henry Mills, Joseph John, Samuel Jones, Joshua Cope, Elisha Hunt, and Joseph England.

Short Creek.—Isaac Parker, William Wood, Jonathan Taylor, Joseph Talbott and Horton Howard.

Salem.—Samuel Davis, Thomas French, Jonathan Stanley, Mahlon Wildman, James Craig, Thomas Grissell, Nathan Galbraith and Reuben Griffith.

Miami.—Mordecai Walker, John Furnace, William Williams, William Butler, Enion Williams, Joseph Cure and Thomas Whinery.

West Branch.—(Not represented.)

We have no contemporary account of this meeting and the recorded minutes give us only the conclusions reached. The following extracts embrace the more essential portions:

The consideration of the important subject of a division of the Yearly Meeting, as continued from last Yearly Meeting, being resumed, copies of minutes were produced from the Yearly Meetings of Friends of Philadelphia and of Virginia, informing that each of the said meetings had appointed a Committee (most of whom were present) to unite with us in deliberation thereon. It was concluded to refer the subject to the consideration of a Committee in conjunction with those Friends now in attendance by appointment of the above Yearly Meetings, and such Committee of women Friends as may be appointed by their meeting, and to report to a future sitting. . . .
(At a later sitting.)

The Committee appointed to unite with women Friends in the further consideration of the important subject of a Yearly Meeting to be held in the State of Ohio, report, That we have several times met and have had the company of several brethren of the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and Virginia, and in our deliberations we have been favored with a good degree of solemnity, under which we were free to propose, that the Quarterly Meetings west of the Alleghany Mountains, within the verge of this Yearly Meeting, be at full liberty to convene together at Short Creek, on the third First-day in the Eighth Month next in the capacity of a Yearly Meeting, agreeable to their prospect and desire as expressed in their

appeal to this meeting last year. All which we submit to the Yearly Meeting.

Signed on behalf of the Committee.

JAMES MENDENHALL,
RACHEL NEIL,

GERARD T. HOPKINS,
SARAH BROWN.

Which was united with and the Quarterly Meetings to the westward of the Alleghany Mountains, which hitherto belonged to this Yearly Meeting, are left at liberty to send representatives and forward their contributions and report accordingly.

Thus was peacefully consummated the movement which for some years had occupied the thoughts of many Friends who had moved westward, and felt the need of a superior meeting which was closely in touch with the conditions which existed in and around its subordinate branches. If it should seem to any that Baltimore acted with undue deliberation, it should be kept in mind that the problem was a new one. All the older Yearly Meetings, New England, Baltimore, Philadelphia and probably Virginia, came into existence by their own action and completed their organization each in its own way. Here was a proposition which involved the division of a meeting and the consequent weakening of the parent organization.* The precedent now being established, ruled in several later cases, on the American continent.

*Baltimore doubtless felt the loss of its western branches. In 1813 that meeting sent to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, by the hands of an able Committee, a proposition that the Southern Quarterly Meeting, on the eastern shore of Maryland and Western Quarterly Meeting, which then had a large membership, extending from Kennett and Hockessin some distance into Maryland, should be transferred to Baltimore. The subject was held under consideration for a year in order that the two Quarters chiefly concerned could be consulted. The proposition in that form does not again appear on the official minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, but five years later (1818) Nottingham, Little Britain and Deer Creek Monthly Meetings were formed into a Quarterly Meeting at the suggestion of Western Quarter and attached to Baltimore. The Southern Quarterly Meeting remained a part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and still reports to the Race Street branch.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY WORK OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING.

And now, after so long a time, it is hoped our readers will be able to transport themselves, with some degree of sympathetic interest to that first great gathering of Ohio Friends at Short Creek. The opening minute reads thus:

At Ohio Yearly Meeting for the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, first opened at Short Creek, the fourteenth of the Eighth Month, 1813.

REPRESENTATIVES:—

Redstone Quarterly Meeting.—Joseph John, Thomas Farquhar, Jacob Griffith, William Hilles, Jonas Cattell, Joshua Cope, William Dixon, Morris Truman.

Short Creek.—Horton Howard, James Raley, Jonathan Taylor, John Howard, Benjamin Vail, Isaac Wilson, Henry Williams, William Hodgkin, William and Jacob Aug.

Salem.—William Heald, James Bolton, Jesse Hollo-way, Abraham Warrington, Isaiah Harris, Stephen McBride, Abel Townsend, Gideon Hughes, John Street.

Miami.—Joseph Tomlinson, Jacob Jackson, Joseph Cloud, Jehu Wilson, Richard Barrett, James Hadley, Samuel Spray, Isaac Harvey.

West Branch.—Enoch Pearson, Samuel Jones, John Townsend, Samuel Teague, Daniel Baulden, Ephraim Overman, Frederic Hoover.

The meeting organized with Horton Howard as Clerk and William Wilson to assist him. There were, of course, many important questions to be settled. The meeting could not at once make a new Book of Discipline for itself, so Baltimore's offer of a hundred printed copies of the discipline of that

body was thankfully accepted and the book adopted until such time as the meeting could make one of its own.

Enoch Harris was the first Treasurer of the meeting, and one of his earliest duties was to receipt for the sum of four hundred and eighty dollars, which Baltimore Yearly Meeting felt it right to turn over to Ohio Yearly Meeting.

This first gathering of Ohio Friends doubtless aroused much interest and there were visitors from other parts of the country. John Letchworth, of Philadelphia, liberated by Minute for religious service in that country, supplies the much-needed contemporary view. Writing to his brother-in-law, Benjamin Kite, he says:

The Men's Yearly Meeting is held in a shed, adjoining the brick meeting-house, belonging to Short Creek Quarterly Meeting, in which Women Friends meet, and I understand, fill. If thou pictures to thyself one of the sheds of your brick-yard, extended to forty-five feet one way, by seventy-five feet the other way, with blocks on the ground, on which rough boards are laid for seats, and midway of the long side a passage from the road two-thirds across the shed, at which place there are two benches with backs, one of them a little raised above the earthen floor, with the front side (of the shed) boarded up about three feet high, thou canst have a tolerable idea of the men's apartment. Yet here, Benjamin, even here, under proper qualification, business can be transacted with propriety. . . .

Here are now Jesse Kersey, Daniel Haviland, Daniel Quimby and their two companions, Philip Price, Nathan Sharpless and wife, Deborah Stabler and Sarah Proctor, and their companions, Caleb Bentley, Jonathan Grave and some others I do not recollect. For aught I can understand, Friends are comfortably accommodated, at least I am at the home of my friend, Enoch Harris."

Concerning the Yearly Meeting, John Heald wrote: "It was attended I suppose by about two thousand Friends, though I am ready to conclude the number was rather less. Some Friends suppose there were nearly three thousand."

As the business progressed and one and another committee was named for specific purposes, we became aware of the presence in that body, in addition to the formally appointed representatives, of the following Friends: William Flanner, Charles Dingee, Enoch Harris, Nathan Updegraff, Jesse Foulke, William Wood, Thomas Rotch, Jesse Holloway, Samuel Spray, William Neale, Samuel Potts, Joseph Steer, Abner Gregg, Zaccheus Test, Noah Haines, Jacob Branson, and Joseph Talbott. Further than this we cannot go in naming those who constituted the first Ohio Yearly Meeting. Some evidence as to the relative size of the different Quarters is derived from the "proportional quotas" adopted before the meeting concluded its work. Of all money to be raised, it was directed that

Redstone Quarterly Meeting should pay	17 per cent.
Short Creek Quarterly Meeting should pay	31 per cent.
Salem Quarterly Meeting should pay	20 per cent.
Miami Quarterly Meeting should pay	20 per cent.
West Branch Quarterly Meeting should pay	12 per cent.

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More conclusive evidence as to the numerical strength of the Yearly Meeting is derived from the proceedings in 1814. Then the members seriously grappled with the question of erecting a suitable house for the sittings of the Yearly Meeting, Short Creek meeting-house being wholly inadequate. With refreshing frankness a scheme was worked out which recognized the greater paying abilities of those in the older settlements. It was thought they might pay as follows:

Redstone Quarter,	181 families, assessed \$8 each,	\$1,448
Short Creek Quarter,	410 families, assessed \$7 each,	2,870
Salem Quarter,	292 families, assessed \$6 each,	1,752
Miami Quarter,	452 families, assessed \$3 each,	1,356
West Branch Quarter,	358 families, assessed \$3 each,	1,074
	<hr/>	
	1693	\$8,500

Now it becomes plain to us that Ohio Yearly Meeting had

really reached proportions which command great respect. With approximately 1700 families of members, averaging, let us say, five individuals to a family, we have a total of nearly 8500, or roughly speaking, twice the size of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1918. An average of five to a family is probably too low an estimate.

For several years the time of the Yearly Meeting was much absorbed with details of organization, including the setting up of new Quarterly Meetings. The order of the establishment of the older Quarters was as follows: Redstone, 1798; Short Creek, 1807; Salem, 1808; Miami, 1808; West Branch, 1811; Fairfield, 1815; White Water, 1817; Blue River, 1819; Stillwater, 1821; New Garden, 1824; Springfield, 1837; Pennsville, 1854; Hickory Grove, Iowa, 1868.*

The westward movement of Friends was continuous for many years, but not uniformly rapid. Perhaps the crest of the first wave was reached about 1805, or a little later. After which there was a lull. In the years before and after 1820 there was another decided increase, but this time Indiana was the objective point, and only a few stopped in Ohio. The present narrative is not concerned with the later phase of the movement, but the future historian will be able to trace the migration of many thousands of people into the valleys of the Ohio and upper Mississippi. The records of the Society of Friends bear ample evidence of this. Ordinarily mere lists of names are not interesting reading. But even a list of names may speak eloquently, when each is suggestive of so much of earnestness and zeal, and sometimes tragedy and sorrow. In North Carolina the counties of Beaufort, Cartaret, Hyde, Craven and Jones were almost depopulated of Friends, while in Virginia the meetings were so weakened that one after another was officially laid down.†

*This Quarterly Meeting was detached from Ohio Yearly Meeting and united to Iowa (Conservative) in 1917.

†Friends of Virginia held on heroically to their organization for another generation, but the adverse influences were too much for them, and the Yearly Meeting was discontinued in 1844, and the surviving meetings attached to Baltimore. It had been in existence almost a century and a-half.

Simultaneously with this decrease of membership in the east, the following names, carried on certificates of removal, began to appear in Ohio. The list is by no means exhaustive, and is almost exclusively from the two states of North Carolina and Virginia:

Albertson, Allen, Antrim, Armstrong, Arnold, Aug, Baily, Baker, Baldwin, Ball, Barrett, Beal, Beeson, Barry, Bishop, Blackburn, Bolton, Bond, Boswell, Branson, Brock, Bryant, Bundy, Bunting, Butler, Burgess, Cadwalader, Canby, Carson, Carter, Cattell, Clark, Cleaver, Cloud, Coffee, Coffin, Cole, Conard, Cope, Copeland, Coppock, Cox, Crampton, Crew, Davis, Dean, Dew, Dewees, Dingee, Dillon, Dixon, Doan, Doudna, Edgerton, Edwards, Elliott, Ellis, Ellyson, Embree, Evans, Farquhar, Faucett, Faulkner, Finch, Fisher, Flanner, Foulke, French, Furnas, George, Gilbert, Goodwin, Grave, Gray, Gregg, Green, Griffith, Hadley, Haines, Hale, Hall, Harlan, Harris, Harvey, Haydock, Heald, Henderson, Hiatt, Hicks, Hill, Hilles, Hobson, Hockett, Hodge, Hodgins, Hollaway, Hollingsworth, Hoover, Hough, Horner, Howard, Hubbard, Hughes, Hunt, Hussey, Jackson, James, Janney, Jay, Jenkins, Jessop, John, Jones, Kenworthy, Kersey, Knight, Langstaff, Lewis, Little, Lloyd, Lundy, Lupton, McBride, McConnell, McGrew, McPherson, Macy, Maris, Mendenhall, Michiner, Miller, Millhouse, Mills, Moore, Morlan, Mullin, Myers, Neale, Newby, Newlin, Nutt, Oliphant, Outland, Overman, Packer, Painter, Pancoast, Parker, Parsons, Patterson, Paxson, Payson, Pearson, Peele, Penrose, Pickering, Pidgeon, Pierce, Piggott, Plummer, Potts, Pugh, Purviance, Raley, Ratcliff, Reece, Rhodes, Richards, Richardson, Roberts, Rotch, Russell, Schooley, Scott, Shreve, Sidwell, Sinclair, Small, Smith, Spencer, Spray, Stanley, Stanton, Starbuck, Stedham, Steer, Stewart, Stokes, Stratton, Street, Stubbs, Sugart, Swayne, Talbott, Taylor, Teague, Terrell, Test, Thomas, Thompson, Thornton, Tomlinson, Townsend, Trueblood, Truman, Updegraff, Vail, Van Law, Votaw, Walker, Walter, Walton, Ward, Warrington, Wharton, White, Wickersham, Wildman, Williams, Wills, Wilson, Wood, Wright, Yarnall.

CHAPTER V.

PIONEER LIFE, SCHOOLS, ETC.

An interesting theme awaits the historian who will fittingly portray the life of the pioneers of Ohio. The whole country was densely wooded and every acre of land had to be chopped over, in the most literal sense, before it could be cultivated. Skill with the axe was a first requisite and became universal. All houses were made of logs, and completed without an iron nail, an iron hinge or a "boughten" door-latch. The hospitable expression, "the latch-string is always out for thee," once in constant use, must now be explained to the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the generation which invented it. At the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, in 1876, one of the attractions was a pioneer log cabin. An elderly Ohio man who visited it and noted the sawed boards in the floor, the nails in the battened door, and the iron hinges, was greatly disappointed and felt that the public was being cheated. "I could have built them a better cabin," said he, "without a nail, a screw or a sawed board in it."

Of course the settlers were profligate in the use of timber. Only the best of the trees or parts of trees were used. In the process of "clearing" a farm, lumber which would now sell for some hundreds of dollars per acre was recklessly burned to get it out of the way. It was physically impossible for one man to handle a tree or even a section of it, hence men combined forces to help each other in turn. Log rollings were frequent. A dozen or twenty men, sometimes aided by teams of oxen, piled the trunks of trees together in such shape that they could be burned. Scarcely less frequent were the barn or house-raisings. The best of feeling always dominated these occasions. So much did they appeal to the social instinct that the same principle was applied to the lighter duties of pioneer life. Corn huskings, quilting parties, apple

cuttings and after a while spelling bees were the recreation and natural outlets for the social life of the community.

If every man was more or less a carpenter, so every third man, perhaps, was a shoemaker and harnessmaker. Home tanning and dressing of skins was universal. Flax could be produced with ease and wool-growing was a necessity. All the machinery for utilizing these products existed in every well-regulated household. The spinning-wheels, large and small, now sought as relics, were then in constant demand, and skill in the use of them considered essential. Hand looms were to be found in many houses, and every step in the transition of flax or wool from the field or the back of the sheep to the finished garment was accomplished without factory aid.

Cooking by open fires and in fire-places was general. The swinging crane was always present. Axes, hatchets and knives came at first from the older settlements and were valued accordingly. Blacksmithing and milling, both for grinding and sawing, were among the first occupations to fall into the hands of a separate class and become trades.

It was a hard life, which in the most literal sense, illustrated the "survival of the fittest." Systems strained to the utmost by unending bodily labor, were sometimes easy victims to the epidemics which swept over the country. There were few doctors, and home remedies not always efficacious. No statistician has demonstrated which sex had the advantage. If Chesterfield could point to the bench or benches on which seventeen widows used to sit in meeting, other neighborhoods might have pointed to the numerous examples of men with their second or third wives. It was pioneer life, with certain enforced peculiarities resulting from its environment, from the heavy forests, the distance from older settlements, and the difficulty of transportation.

No class could be shielded from hardship. The very nature of the life placed a premium on muscular strength and endurance. The exploits of some individuals tended to become cherished family traditions. Prudence Williams, returned alone on horseback a hundred miles through the forest, from Stillwater neighborhood to Redstone, for fruit trees. These she carried home behind her saddle and planted them herself.

The product of these trees gladdened certain households for many years and kept alive the memory of her achievement.

There were no sulphur matches and fire must be carried and kept alive or started afresh with flint and tinder. Many another household convenience, which later generations came to regard as essential, was then unknown, and the ingenuity of the housekeeper was taxed to provide a substitute.

There was game in the forest, though nothing comparable to the buffalo of the western plains. Shot guns, called in derision "scatter-guns," were despised, but rifles were in constant demand and skill in marksmanship very general. Squirrels were numerous, and furnished many a savory dish. It is remembered that one of those early settlers used to reproach himself when his bullet mangled the body of a squirrel. So great was his skill with the rifle that he was able to hit the head only of a squirrel, in a tree eighty to one hundred feet in height.

Mention of squirrels brings to mind the fact that they constituted a menace to advancing civilization! So numerous were they, and so fond of tender vegetable growth, that newly-planted corn fields had to be closely watched. Many a small boy lamented the necessity which put him to guard a corn field all the long Spring day, until he could see the evening star, the appointed termination of his day's work. No wonder the neighbors banded together, organized circular hunts, offered prizes for the greatest number of tails, and slaughtered squirrels by the hundreds.

Friends were a part of the community and in many particulars did not differ greatly from those around them. In one matter they were in advance, they desired for their children the advantages of at least a primary education. Hence log school-houses sprang into existence long before any public school system was established. Some meetings were strong enough to hire the teacher and conduct the school quite on modern ideas. Others got no farther than to provide a house, some not even that. The term "subscription school" had a very definite meaning. It often was left to a teacher to go about in a neighborhood and solicit patronage. A parent might feel able to subscribe and pay for two children for the term. There were, let us say, five children of school age in

the family. It required a nice discernment to decide which two children should occupy the coveted seats and for how long, and to divide the time among the five with due regard to the best interests of all. The present writer, as a boy, sat in a monthly meeting, the clerk of which, a man of rather more than ordinary business ability, had only the school education which came with his share, three months, in a Friends' subscription school.

The log school-house is a thing of the past, but should not be forgotten. Rectangular in shape, windows on four sides, heated first by a fire-place, but presently by a rude stove in the middle, it had a character of its own. A shelving board attached to the wall, around at least three sides of the room, served as a desk for those who were old enough to write. Benches had no backs. Younger children sat in the middle of the room. Older pupils faced the wall to write, but swung their feet inward and faced the teacher at other times. Writing was done with goose-quill pens. These required frequent repointing. Men and women are yet living who know without explanation, why pocket-knives were so often called "pen-knives." These people recall without difficulty the appearance of a school-room, during the "writing period," when the teacher stood in the middle of the floor, or at his desk, and, with a sharp knife, repointed the quill pens. The work of Joseph Gillott and Richard Esterbrook had not yet shown above the backwoods horizon!

These early schools limited their work pretty closely to the traditional "three R's—reading—'riting and 'rithmetic." The late John Butler, of Damascus, as a young man, taught in a Friends' school, and wished to add geography and grammar to the list of studies which might be pursued in his school. The innovation brought upon him a visit and remonstrance from the committee. A compromise was effected, by which he was allowed to continue the experiment one year. To the credit of both teacher and committee it should be remembered that the new studies proved a success and their propriety was never again questioned. Before turning away from the subject of education, let us record the fact that Baltimore Friends forwarded to one of the schools, in 1813, a shipment of books,

which included fifteen primers, fifteen spelling books, twelve testaments, two Bibles and one English reader.

This narrative should now return to the Yearly Meeting and the problems it had to deal with in its corporate capacity. They were far more numerous than can here be unfolded. Slavery and the Indian question engaged some attention. There were occasional appeals from subordinate meetings to be considered. The new house at Mt. Pleasant, with its extensive youths' galleries and heavy shutters, was finished and occupied in 1816. A "*Book of Discipline*" was completed and published in 1819. It follows pretty closely the Baltimore Discipline of the corresponding period, including the long standing but happily now obsolete,

Eighth Query, Are Friends careful to bear a testimony against slavery? Do they provide in a suitable manner for those under their direction who have had their freedom secured, and are they instructed in useful learning?

Ohio Yearly Meeting, like Baltimore, was destined at an early day to face the question of propagation by division. In 1817 Miami and Fairfield Quarters suggested another Yearly Meeting for western Ohio and Indiana. It was considered in 1818, again in 1819, and finally referred to a committee to report in 1820. There were then present eight Quarterly meetings for the last time. It was decided that year, that Miami, West Branch, Fairfield, White Water and Blue River Quarters should be left at liberty to convene at White Water in 1821, as Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends. When Ohio Yearly Meeting convened in 1821 only Redstone, Short Creek and Salem were represented. Stillwater was authorized that year and was represented in 1822, and New Garden in 1824.

In all these earlier years Ohio Friends continued to derive strength and encouragement from the visits of ministers of the Gospel who came to them from distant parts, as well as those of their own membership who were led to labor beyond the borders of their own particular meetings. Daniel Wheeler was present at the Yearly Meeting in 1839, while the session of 1840 seems to have witnessed something of an outpouring

of ministerial labor from distant parts. Elizabeth Robson (England), Christopher Healy and Samuel Cope (Pennsylvania), John Wood (New York), Elizabeth Meader (Rhode Island), William Hobbs, William Pearson, Thomas Arnot, Anna Hobbs (Indiana), and Aaron Wills (New Jersey), were all present with minutes liberating them for religious service. Nathan Kite and Samuel Bettie, of Philadelphia, were present in 1841. The list might be greatly extended. Some attended the Yearly Meeting only, others visited extensively the subordinate meetings. A memorandum from one of the branches of Springfield Quarter mentions Ann Jones (England), 1826; Thomas Shillitoe (England), 1829; Jared Patterson (Stillwater), 1829, Jacob Branson (Flushing), 1831; Rebecca Updegraff (Short Creek), 1832; Jonathan Backhouse (England), 1831; John and Elizabeth Meader (New England), 1832; Elisha Bates (Short Creek), 1832; Hinchman Haines (New Jersey), 1832; Joseph Edgerton (Somerset), 1832; Lindley M. Hoag (Massachusetts), 1835; Benjamin Hoyle (Stillwater), 1835; Daniel Wood (Alum Creek), 1835; Jeremiah Hubbard (Pennsylvania), 1837. It is fair to assume that other meetings were being visited similarly. The cementing influence of such labor, rightly directed, was one of the determining factors in the early years of Ohio Yearly Meeting.

Because meetings were set up and laid down with such frequency that it is difficult to follow them, no attempt is made to record the circumstances of the establishment of each one. Indeed, a bare list of meetings at any given date in the early years of the last century, would contain some names which are almost or quite unknown to this generation. In order, however, to give a semblance of historical completeness to this narrative, a list is given of the meetings as they existed in the year 1826. The names of Monthly Meetings are in *Italics*, with the Particular Meetings immediately following:

REDSTONE QUARTERLY MEETING.

Westland.

Pike Run.
Head of Wheeling.
Ridge.

Redstone.

Sandy Hill.

Sandy Creek.

Providence.

Centre.

Sewickley.

SHORT CREEK QUARTERLY MEETING.

Smithfield.

Cross Creek.

Short Creek.

Mount Pleasant.

West Grove.

Harrisville.

Connaughton.

Concord.

Flushing.

Freeport.

Guernsey.

Bushy Fork.

SALEM QUARTERLY MEETING.

Middleton.

Fairfield.

Beaver Falls.

Conneaut.

Salem.

Upper Springfield.

Goshen.

Marlborough.

Lexington.

Kendal.

Deer Creek.

STILLWATER QUARTERLY MEETING.

Stillwater.

Captina.

Deerfield.

Zanesville.

Richland.

Blue Rock.

Plainfield.

St. Clairsville.

Goshen.

Somerset.

Ridge.

Sunbury.

NEW GARDEN QUARTERLY MEETING.

New Garden.

Grove.

New Lisbon.

Elk Run.

Carmel.

Dry Run.

Sandy Spring.

Augusta.

The total membership at this date (1826) in the fifty-three Particular Meetings was 8,873. After 1854 there was added:

PENNSVILLE QUARTERLY MEETING.

Pennsville.

Hopewell.

Chesterfield.

Plymouth.

Southland.

As we survey the work of that body, the growth of which has been thus outlined, there remains no doubt that the Head of the Church was using it for the advancement of Truth. If the results have been imperfect, if the fruitage has been less than might have been expected, it may still be claimed, without boasting, that much of good was accomplished. An organizing and restraining influence reached down through its subordinate branches, the lives of men and women were strengthened and sweetened, and in a good degree, the Gospel message had freer course because there was such a body as Ohio Yearly Meeting in the land. There remains one deeply interesting story to be narrated.

CHAPTER VI.

MOUNT PLEASANT BOARDING SCHOOL.

One of the most important concerns which occupied the attention of the Yearly Meeting in its earlier days, and which was finally brought to a successful issue, was the establishment of a Boarding School for the better training of its youth. It is deserving of fuller notice than some other matters. The idea developed very early. At the second session, 1814, the following minute was made:

“The consideration of the propriety of laying the foundation for the establishment of a public institution for the youth of the Society within the limits of this meeting, coming weightily before us, after a time of solid consideration, the important subject is referred to the consideration of the meeting next year.”

Next year the subject was referred to the Quarterly Meetings, in the hope that funds would begin to accumulate. In 1816 ten Friends were named to receive any contributions which might be offered. This committee consisted of Abel Knight, Jonathan Taylor, Nathan Updegraff, Isaac Packer, William Heald, David Brown, Emmor Bailey, James Paty, Richard Barrett and George Shugart. So for a series of years the subject lingered on the minutes until 1819, when, as no funds appeared, the project no longer claimed attention in the annual gatherings.

A slight revival of interest occurred in 1824, when, by the will of Thomas Rotch, the Yearly Meeting came into possession of the sum of five thousand dollars, bequeathed for the special purpose of founding a boarding school. Nothing was done, however, beyond making a fresh appointment of the committee.

This slow progress and apparent want of general interest

may seem surprising among a people who were striving so bravely to promote primary education in their respective neighborhoods, and it is impossible at this distance of time and with meagre information fully to account for it. Two things should be kept in mind. The troubles in Society which led to the separation of 1827-8 cast a baneful influence on the time before and after that event. But chiefly, it may be frankly acknowledged, that there were doubts as to the propriety of a boarding school. One can scarcely write of this without appearing to cast reproach upon the Friends of the day. Yet the philosophic historian of the future will be able to give a reason for the feeling which existed and he will have no word to say against the sincerity, the intelligence or the zeal of those early pioneers. Apparently, the opposition grew out of certain conditions of life in that region. Nowhere else was the process of making homes more difficult than in the Ohio Valley. Every acre of ground must be chopped over before it became a field. Hard, unrelenting toil was the order of the day and time. Labor brought its unfailing reward, but none the less surely did sloth and idleness produce a crop of social ills. Willingness to work became, in popular estimation, a cardinal virtue; idleness one of the greatest of vices. Friends and others believed the Gospel and tried to live by its precepts. Certain facts in their own experience led them to adopt most fully the spirit of Paul's injunction to Timothy: "But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." By the simplest possible process of reasoning these people favored a short school term at home in winter, their children having ample "chores" to do in the mornings and evenings, but declined to risk sending them to a boarding school where they would be withdrawn for months from the active cares and duties of life.

Whatever the reason, and the above conjecture must be kindred to the true explanation, the fact remains that not until 1831 did the increasing demand for a better school lead to some positive action. At the Yearly Meeting in that year subscriptions to the amount of nearly seven thousand dollars were reported, and the movement acquired new life. It is

proper to state that a considerable portion of this money came from beyond the limits of Ohio Yearly Meeting. A joint committee of forty-one members was appointed, and authority was given to select a site, purchase ground and begin the work of erecting buildings.

Mount Pleasant, in Jefferson County, seemed the natural place for the school. The name, cheerful and euphonious, had been carried thither from Virginia, and doubtless had pleasant associations. Here the Yearly Meeting held its sittings. A numerous body of Friends resided in and about the village. The names of Jenkins, Bates, Updegraff, Taylor and others suggest at once families well and favorably known for their interest in Society affairs and likely to aid in a substantial way any educational movement. Mount Pleasant was within the limits of Short Creek Quarter and adjacent settlements at Concord, Harrisville, Smithfield, Flushing and Plainfield were within easy driving distance, and the community feeling was strong. It was thought that a school might draw large patronage from a country included well within a twenty mile radius.

It is to be regretted that no local history has preserved complete memorials of the early history of Mount Pleasant village. Situated about nine miles back from the Ohio River at Wheeling, in the midst of a productive district, it possessed natural advantages of considerable importance. Coal was abundant in the hills around it, though this fact may not have had any significance at the time, and the agricultural resources of the district were abundant. Railroads had not come in use, and no one thought of the location as one difficult of access. Wheeling early afforded a market for all productions. The village in 1831 could not have contained more than two or three hundred inhabitants, but the concentration of Friendly interests and forces gave it an importance beyond what its size would lead one to expect. A printing press was set up, and not a few books of solid value bore the imprint of Mount Pleasant, Ohio. An edition of Ellwood's Sacred History, in two octavo volumes, was among these. Then, too, the village became a centre of moral and political influence on questions upon which Friends held pronounced opinions. It

early acquired the reputation of being a hotbed of anti-slavery sentiments. Wheeling, W. Va., was a well-known slave market, and object lessons on the iniquity of the traffic in human beings were not wanting. About the year 1816 Charles Osborne started at Mount Pleasant a periodical called *The Philanthropist*, in which he discussed the slavery question. One of his contributors was Benjamin Lundy, then a resident of St. Clairsville. Charles Osborne sold out the paper to Elisha Bates, in whose hands it was scarcely a success. Then Benjamin Lundy moved over to Mount Pleasant and started a more radical paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Presently he took the printing of this from the office of Elisha Bates and had it done at Steubenville, twenty miles away. He traveled the distance on foot, carrying the papers home on his back, to be mailed at the place of publication. This arrangement lasted for only eight months, but it shows the local reputation acquired and held by the village of Mount Pleasant.

The first purchase of land was from Dr. William Hamilton, in 1832, a tract of sixty-four acres, at forty-two dollars per acre. Some additions were afterwards made. Thus was secured a good building site on a slight eminence within walking distance of the Yearly Meeting-house. Two wells were dug and arrangements made for the erection of a suitable building. A report of the committee in 1832 contained the following:

“We believe the Ohio Yearly Meeting Boarding School must be calculated for a finishing school for the youth of both sexes. It will, therefore, be necessary that the two departments should be entirely distinct and separate from each other.”

Having established this principle, and being strengthened by substantial aid from Friends of England and Ireland, the committee proceeded to erect a building during the years 1835-6. Its general style grew naturally out of the requirements of the case and was such as may be seen, variously repeated, in other institutions up and down in the country. A central building of forty feet front and forty-six in depth,

three stories in height, was flanked at each side by a wing thirty-six by thirty-two feet, two stories in height, a good basement extending throughout its length. In the central building were the Superintendent's quarters, a guest chamber, rooms for the men and the women teachers, a nursery, parlor and library. On the first floor rear, best remembered of all, was a double collecting-room, with shutters like any country meeting-house, and with the usual wooden benches. This did more than double duty as place for all meetings for worship and Bible readings, lectures, society meetings, and by day, the shutters having been closed, it became two recitation-rooms. Large school-rooms, with lodging-rooms over them, for boys and for girls, were in the respective wings. The house was of brick, and the builder's name was Abel H. Townsend, who seems to have completed the whole in a workmanlike manner.

School was opened on the twenty-third of First Month, 1837. Daniel Williams, M. D., and wife, Elizabeth, were the first superintendent and matron. Robert S. Holloway and George H. Jenkins were the men teachers, with salaries fixed at four hundred dollars as a maximum. Abby T. Holloway (wife of Robert) and Abigail Flanner were the women teachers at two hundred and fifty dollars per year. These four were all residents of Mount Pleasant or the immediate vicinity and are said to have been well qualified. The price of board and tuition was fixed at sixty-eight dollars a year. The total enrollment the first year was one hundred and twenty, but the average attendance was eighty-five. No arrangement for vacations was made at first, but very soon the scholastic year was divided into two terms of twenty-four weeks, and the price changed to seventy-two dollars per year, equal to one and a-half dollars per week for each pupil.

There is not wanting evidence of the deep religious concern which animated Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting in the work which had thus been brought to a completion. Every endeavor was made to surround the children with not only pleasant but profitable conditions. At first the officers and pupils were expected to attend Short Creek Meeting, but this was found to be difficult in practice. The Yearly Meeting

had given no direction, so Short Creek Monthly Meeting authorized an indulged meeting at the school on First and Fifth-days, an arrangement which continued throughout the history of the school. It continued to be the practice for such of the pupils as could conveniently do so, to attend Short Creek Quarterly Meeting as it came in course.

When the building committee closed their accounts in 1838, they reported the total cost of the building at \$10,450. A single year's experience developed the fact that the school-house and the pupils' quarters were extremely useful at Yearly Meeting time for the entertainment of Friends. In later years, when the number of families within easy driving distance had greatly diminished, the school became even more a place of gathering for those in attendance at Yearly Meeting. Out of this grew one of the distinctive features of the occasion, a subject quite worthy of more extended notice in a succeeding chapter.

It must not be supposed that all difficulties vanished when the house was completed and ready for occupancy. Indeed, it appears that the first set of officers and students had many privations to endure. It could scarcely be otherwise when we recall that the school opened in mid-winter, in a new house, with but scant equipment. There was no such thing as a range or cook stove in the institution; all cooking was done by and over open fires. Baking was done in two ovens in the back yard until the "great oven" was completed. Morning ablutions were mostly performed on the porches. If the towels froze stiff, they could be carried indoors to be thawed out.

Robert and Abby Holloway, of the first corps of instructors, left in the spring of 1838 on account of the ill health of the former. Parvin Wright and Susanna M. Thomas succeeded them. The financial statements at first showed a loss of from five to eight hundred dollars per year, and the price of board and tuition was promptly raised to seventy-six dollars per year to meet the deficiency. The boarding school scourges, scarlet fever and measles, visited the institution early in its career, and there was one death, followed by a short suspension of the school.

The first superintendents of the school, as before stated, were

Daniel and Elizabeth Williams, of Salem. Upon them fell the burden of organization. Without attempting to give dates, or to indicate the length of service of each, the successive administrations may be recorded approximately as follows:

- II. Greenbury and Jane Plummer, of Short Creek Quarter.
- III. Benjamin and Mary Hoyle, of Stillwater Quarter.
- IV. Nathan and Deborah Hall, of Harrisville, in Short Creek Quarter.
- V. Nathan P. and Merab Hall, of Salem Quarter.
- VI. Yardley and Hannah A. Warner, of Philadelphia, Pa.
- VII. Robert H. and Elizabeth Smith, of Stillwater Quarter.
- VIII. John W. and Maria Smith, of Harrisville, in Short Creek Quarter.
- IX. Wilson and Sina (Stratton) Hall, of Salem Quarter.
- X. Barclay and Hannah Stratton, of Salem Quarter.

This list carries us beyond the time when these "notes" are supposed to end, but it seems convenient to include the complete list of those who served in the capacity of superintendent and matron, at the Mount Pleasant Boarding School.

A glance at these names and a recognition of the character of the individuals, suggests at once the high standard of zeal and religious experience which was maintained. Doubtless the teachers were equally zealous in their sphere of labor. Salaries continued to be low, and changes were frequent. In addition to the teachers mentioned in the first years of the school, there were others like Sina Stratton (afterward Hall), Joseph Branson, Mary H. Raley (afterward Stratton), Rachel Hall, Martha Ann Wilson, Isaac N. Vail, Mary Picket (afterward Taber) and Joseph H. Branson, whose names seem to stand out more prominently than most, but mention of them is not to belittle the memory of a larger number not enumerated.

In common with all educational institutions, Mount Pleasant was always poor. There was a continual struggle to keep the expenses proportioned to the income. The range of studies was not wide, but the instruction, in comparison with other schools of the age and similar conditions, was surprisingly

good. Like other schools, too, it developed a body of traditions, and there was the inevitable tendency to fall into ruts.

It often happens that persons from without coming into an institution, have the clearest sense of possible reforms. They may make changes too rapidly, years may be required to solidify and make sure of the new advances, but in the end the loosening of the shackles of tradition brings new life to the body. When Yardley and Hannah A. Warner entered the school in the later fifties, as superintendent and matron, they found a boys' and a girls' school under the same roof, attending the same meetings for worship, but otherwise entirely separate. They proceeded to unite them in classes and economize the time of the teachers. They found two students' dining-rooms in opposite ends of the house, and a family dining-room between. They moved the boys to the girls' dining-room and put the family to eat with the pupils. The boys gained a play-room by this move, but it was long cumbered with the furniture piled at one side and always kept its name of the "old dining-room." The home feeling was greatly increased by these reforms and renewed vigor given to the entire work of the school.

The real history of Mount Pleasant School can never be written. It is recorded only in the inner lives of those who came under its influence. Of agencies human, it had its failures, but in the aggregate it sent out many good men and women, better and stronger for having been in its fold.

Reference was made in an earlier chapter to the use of Mount Pleasant School building as a house of entertainment during the week of Ohio Yearly Meeting.

It is to be regretted that no one has ever fittingly described this feature in the life of the place. The accommodations were often strained to the utmost. Picture a long attic-room, with ordinary mattresses laid end to end along the wall, and a score or more of young men "put to bed" crosswise of these mattresses, with their feet reaching out into space. Then ask yourselves whether the young men, being "old scholars" and much at home, would not be tempted to such levity of action as accorded but poorly with even the outer fringe of a religious gathering! But another and more enduring picture

is forming. Every bed below is occupied, not by light-hearted students, but by the ministers and elders of the Yearly Meeting, weighed down with the problems and cares of the whole Society. Instead of a school it is now the home of a considerable number of persons, brought together under circumstances which enabled them to renew old friendships and associations, but solemnized and purified by the community of religious interests.

The routine of school life was followed at meal times and at the close of the day. They assembled at the ringing of a bell and sat on the dining-room stools, as many of them had done in former years. In the evening the benches in the collecting rooms were occupied not by school children, but by sober-minded men and women of all ages.

Some one, generally the Superintendent, read a chapter from the Bible and the company dropped into silence. Sometimes there were vocal offerings, in fact the "bed collection" became a meeting for worship, and there were occasions when a solemnity, never to be forgotten, spread over the assembly. The late Elwood Dean was often engaged in religious service in these gatherings, and one who knew him for many years thought he was never more favored than at such times.

Daniel Wheeler, of England, attended Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1839. The account in his journal, written probably on the canal boat between the Alleghanies and Harrisburg on the return trip, makes but brief mention of it, but an aged Friend, whose memory went back to those times, used to give a graphic account of Daniel Wheeler at Mount Pleasant School. He said that D. W. sat on a chair in the middle of the girls' room, while an awed and deeply interested circle, as many as could get within the hearing of his voice, listened to the recital of his experiences in Russia, the South Seas and the wide expanse of ocean which he had traversed. These things are common property now in his published writings, but were then a living experience which came with great freshness to his hearers.

Having devoted so much space to Mount Pleasant Boarding School and matters relating to it, there seems no easy way to

dismiss the subject without explaining to this generation why there is no longer an institution of that name.

It will be remembered that a separation occurred in Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1854. This was the culmination of a period of unsettlement, lasting over several years, in the course of which some bitterness was engendered, and the vital points at issue became so involved with evidences of human frailty that, as afterward appeared, outside parties could with difficulty determine which was the real Ohio Yearly Meeting and the rightful claimant to the school property. The respective parties were denominated the Hoyle party and the Binns party, from the names of the two clerks. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting recognized the Hoyle party, but after the first year corresponded with neither. The Binns party was recognized by most of the other Yearly Meetings in America, and by London. The Hoyle party remained in control of the school property, but did not exclude children of the other branch.

Thus matters remained until after the Civil War, when the Binns Yearly Meeting made a formal demand for possession, and ultimately entered suit to determine the question of ownership. The case came on for trial in the Tenth Month of 1868, before three Judges sitting as a Circuit Court of Ohio at Steubenville. Numerous witnesses were examined, but there was substantial agreement as to the events at the time of the separation in 1854. The real difficulty which confronted judges and lawyers was on the effect and significance of certain usages and practices of the Society of Friends and the importance which should attach to the action of other Yearly Meetings in recognizing one or the other of the claimants. Dr. Charles Evans, of Philadelphia, editor of *THE FRIEND*, was present and testified in regard to these matters. On all questions of history, organization and the usages of the Society he was probably the best living authority, and he was able to thread his way through the tangle of events to the material enlightenment of the court and to the clearing up of many questions which had arisen during the controversy accompanying the separation. One of the opposition lawyers is credited with a remark to the

effect that "that man Evans from Philadelphia was the clearest-headed witness he had ever encountered."

When the evidence was all before the court and the lawyers had commenced their pleadings, the judges themselves proposed, as the case was likely to go to the supreme court of the state, whichever way it was decided by them, that it should be sent there at once without the formality of a decision by the lower court. It was agreed that this should be done without prejudice to either side, and that until a legal judgment was rendered the school property should continue in the hands of the Hoyle party. The case was sent to the Supreme Court at Columbus. Here it remained apparently untouched for a period of nearly six years, thus exemplifying in a marked degree what is often called the "law's delay."

The school meanwhile continued in successful operation. It is true the possibility of an adverse decision hung like a pall over the little community, but as time wore on and nothing was heard of the matter, this danger, to the pupils at least, became rather remote. During the winter term there were usually fifty or sixty pupils, and work was carried on with energy. In the summer there was a smaller number, and sometimes only two teachers. Thus in the summer of 1874 Barclay and Hannah Stratton were the superintendent and matron, while John Stratton and Dorothy Hobson were the teachers, with about thirty pupils in attendance. On the twentieth of Sixth Month, as the routine of the school was proceeding as usual, Elwood Ratcliff, of the Binns party, who had held the empty title of superintendent since 1854, accompanied by George K. Jenkins, a former teacher in the school, called to notify the authorities that the supreme court of Ohio had handed down a decision in favor of the plaintiffs, and they desired to enter into immediate possession. This demand came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, and took the zest out of all school work. True an attempt was made to close in a dignified way. The superintendent summoned the committee, as the legal representatives of the Yearly Meeting, and the pupils made a brave attempt to continue their recitations until official orders should be given that they were to pack their trunks. A settled gloom

pervaded the house, and soon all pretense of work was abandoned.

This is not the place to discuss the justice or injustice of the decision. It may have been technically correct law, but in the opinion of many it was far from being equitable. One or two circumstances are worth mentioning in this connection.

There were five justices on the bench of the supreme court. In the six years while this suit remained undecided the term of office of one or more had expired. When finally the decision was handed down it appeared that three only of the judges concurred in it, while the Chief Justice and one other of the original incumbents dissented, and placed on record their opinion in favor of the Hoyle party. While this last mentioned document had no legal force whatever, it was some consolation to the defendants to know that their view of the case was not utterly beyond the reach of judicial understanding. The language of Chief Justice Welch is most emphatic. He says at the beginning: "I cannot concur in the opinion. I think the plaintiffs have made no case to justify a court of equity in disturbing the defendants in the possession of the property."

Those who are curious in such matters will find both the ruling and the dissenting opinions in Vol. XLVIII of *THE FRIEND*, p. 132 and following.

When the committee had taken formal action, and teachers and students faced the startling fact that in a few hours they must sever all connection with the place to which they were so strongly attached, they began active preparations for departure. It was Third-day, and in the intervals of packing they gave thought to the *Mount Pleasant Literary Society*, which it was concluded should hold its final meeting that evening. There were a number of visitors present, members of the committee remaining over to assist in the work of closing up the school, and nearby Friends who were attracted by the interest of the occasion. Among the former was Sina (Stratton) Hall, who as pupil had been present and a participant when the *Literary Society* was first organized, and who afterwards as teacher, matron and member of the committee

had been largely concerned in the care and management of the institution.

The meeting of the society proved to be an occasion not soon to be forgotten by those who were present. When the members at the last grouped themselves in front of the president's desk to recite in concert a little valedictory which had been adapted for the occasion, it was with difficulty that some of them restrained their feelings. The routine bells were rung until noon of Fourth-day, then the pupils left at one o'clock for their trains, and a great silence fell upon the place. The teachers and a few of the committee lingered for a day or two to remove such of the books and furniture as had been acquired since 1854, then the property passed into the hands of those whom the law recognized as its owners.

Ohio Yearly Meeting was due to convene in the Ninth Month, and at first it seemed almost impossible to do without the school building as a place of entertainment. A committee of the Meeting for Sufferings made arrangements for Friends to be accommodated in the village and the surrounding country so that less difficulty was experienced than was at first expected. There was lacking, of course, the school as a centre of social and religious influence in the interval of meetings, and this was not restored until both meeting-house and school were duplicated at Stillwater, near Barnesville, a few years later.

The remaining history of the school is equally sad and more brief. The Friends of the Binns party at once began extensive repairs and the addition of new arrangements for heating and lighting. An outlay of \$5000 or more had made the building nearly ready for occupancy when, on the sixteenth of First Month, 1875, it was accidentally destroyed by fire. It was never rebuilt, and Mount Pleasant School ceased to exist except as a pleasant memory in the hearts of those who had shared its life.

